

## **SOME QUESTIONS OF URBANISATION IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES OF SOUTH-EAST EUROPE**

by

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The urbanisation that goes on in countries with differing social systems and on a different level of economic development is one of the most characteristic phenomena of our age. Many difficult problems are raised by the accelerating process of urbanisation, which can be solved only by ensuring in a complex way interdisciplinarity and joint efforts by the representatives of a number of branches of science. A major role among these is played by population and urban geography.

At the present time, the urban processes and the research of problems linked with this have a significant role in the geographic literature of the different countries. However, such research is hindered by the circumstance that with regard to the definition of the concept of urbanisation, the required homogeneity is far from being complete; it is given different notions by different authors. Undoubtedly, the placing of an equal sign between urbanisation, and the growth and development of towns, and the increase in the ratio of city dwellers would mean the oversimplification of the problem. For it is obvious that the above mentioned elements, although undoubtedly essential, are only particular character of the progress of urbanisation. The concept which regards urbanisation as an independent historic process that determines the development of society is also unacceptable. All the more so, as urbanisation is primarily a product, a result of economic social development; that is urbanisation must be regarded as a condition and at the same time a result of social development.

There is agreement with the opinion of those authors who regard present day urbanisation as a historic process that is closely linked with the development of the productive forces and social relations. This process is linked with extensive social economic changes both in towns and villages that result in the mass dissemination of the urban way of life, the development of services, mass communications, transport, industrialised agriculture and modern production.

The development of urbanisation can be divided into two parts.

The first phase is characterised by the growth of towns, the development in the urban system, also resulting in the growth in the ratio of

town-dwellers, and a concentration of branches of non-agricultural production in towns. A large proportion of a country's population becomes concentrated in cities, and their role in the country's life acquires major significance. This phase in the development of urbanisation is regarded as extensive.

In the second phase the role of the intensive factors of urbanisation comes to the centre of interest. As a result, the industrial, cultural, scientific and service achievements of the urban centres gradually effect the entire settlement system of the country, and encompass the whole of society.

The two phases of urbanisation mentioned earlier are well defined, not only in time, but also in space. They can also appear simultaneously on the territory of a country. This circumstance is particularly relevant in the case of the socialist countries in South-East Europe, where faster pace economic development started only in the period after the Second World War. In the more developed regions of these countries — where urban settlements appeared long ago — urban development realises in intensive forms. Simultaneously, in other parts of the country, regions can or do exist on a lower level of economic development, where the town system is not too dense and an urban way of life does not have long past. On these territories, the extensive forms of urbanisation become dominant. This can be the reason why in quite a number of countries, major regional differences appear in the level of urbanisation.

This study is an attempt to analyze the peculiarities in the realisation of the process of urbanisation in three socialist countries in South-East Europe (Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Romania). Naturally, the aim was not to give a total and complex analysis of the urbanisation process in the three countries mentioned, the sole target was to analyze the network development of the towns in these countries on the basis of developments in the past ten years, and to describe the essential changes in this, and underline the tendencies that emerge in the urbanisation process in the administrative regions. Since data providing information about the occupation structure of the rural population are missing from statistical publications, it was not possible to trace the phenomena linked with the urbanisation of these areas.

In the above mentioned three countries, the regional examination of urbanisation — because of the character of the statistical data available — can only be approached on the level of administrative units. However, an international comparison becomes extremely difficult when it is considered that a significant difference can be observed between the administrative units of individual countries, both in the size of the territory and the number of the population.

An examination of urbanisation, and a review of the differences in the level of urbanisation within one country is extremely timely in the case of the socialist South-East European countries. In the present stage of their development — when the further completion of the regional organisation of production is of key importance — it is absolutely indispensable to take into consideration the changes occurring in the entire system of sett-



lements. These changes are closely connected with economic, primarily industrial development, the increased concentration of industrial production and changes in its location, the increased mechanisation of agriculture and, as a result, the gradual shift of manpower from agriculture in these countries. Among the socialist countries of Europe, Albania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Romania embarked on a socialist path of development on the lowest stage of industrial and urban development. Their common characteristic was a relatively low ratio of the urban population in comparison to the total population (in 1954 the proportion of the urban population in Bulgaria was 27.5%; in Romania 24.7%; and in Yugoslavia 21.7%). This phenomenon in these countries can be explained by the agricultural type of the economy, the sparse network of towns, the low number of cities and by the fact that a high number of the urban population was also employed in agriculture, which reflects the agricultural character of the above mentioned towns.

The increase in the urban population in these countries started at the beginning of the 1950s. The foundations of this process were laid by socialist industrialisation, the concentration of production, the heavy industrialisation of agriculture and the release of manpower from agriculture, among other factors. As a result of the economic and social changes during the relatively short period of the building of socialism in the countries under examination, the motives of urbanisation and also its forms have changed. This is the reason why the two phases in the development of urbanisation can be evaluated in this case.

In the first phase of building socialism, the fundamental impulse of the development of urbanisation was the industrialisation of the towns. The rapid development of industry required an increase in the industrial labour force, which it gained not only from the towns but also from the rural regions, thus increasing the influx of the population into industrial centres. This process, naturally, resulted in the rapid development of urban settlements.

Industrial objects were not only built in existing towns, but also in rural settlements, where some of the conditions necessary for settling industry were present, such as sufficient manpower, natural resources or adequate transport requirements, etc.

These settlements, simultaneously, became gravitational centres for the external labour force. At a certain level of development, one or two of these settlements gained the status of a town, and the settlements located in the vicinity of towns merged with individual towns.

As a third major source of the increase in the urban population, a relatively rare phenomenon must be mentioned, and that is — in the case of densely populated areas — the construction of significant industrial objects carried out on "empty ground". Houses and amenities for servicing facilities were built at a rapid pace around such projects, creating the core of a new town.

The examination of the data for the socialist countries in South-East Europe confirms that the increase in the number of urban population

was primarily ensured by the influx of the population from rural areas into the towns, together with the fact that some of these settlements received the status of a town.

Urban population in 1950 and 1965

Table 1.

Country	Urban population in thousands		Actual increase of urban population between 1950 and 1965 in thousands	
	1950	1965	altogether	population that migrated to a town and as a result of administrative changes
Bulgaria . . . .	1995	3822	1827	1615
Yugoslavia . . .	2556 <sup>1</sup>	5266 <sup>2</sup>	2710 <sup>3</sup>	2391
Romania . . . .	4029	6363 <sup>4</sup>	2334	1379

in 1948    <sup>3</sup> between 1948 and 1961  
in 1961    <sup>4</sup> in 1966

In the examined period, the numerical increase of the urban population can be explained partly by the higher natural increase of the immigrated rural population to the towns and partly by the administrative changes that transformed a part of the rural population into urban inhabitants.

As can be seen from the above figures, the number of urban population doubled in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria; for in this period the migration of the rural population to the towns and the rural settlements that developed into towns occurred at a much faster pace than in Romania.

In the period between 1948 and 1965, the number of towns rose by the formation of new towns by 32 in Romania, while in Bulgaria, from 1946 to 1965 the number of new towns was 70.

From the mid-1960s, the urbanisation of the examined countries reached a new phase. From that time on, in addition to the extensive factors of development, the importance of the intensive factors rose significantly, and an urban way of life started to spread among the rural population. This process, although indirectly, is well reflected by the figures concerning an increase in the ratio of the employment in the non-agricultural branches.

Table 2.

The relationship between urbanisation and the change in employment structure

Country	The ratio of the urban population in %		The ratio of those employed in the non-agricultural sectors in %	
	1950	1974	1950	1974
Bulgaria . . . . .	27.5	58	18 <sup>1</sup>	68
Yugoslavia . . . .	21.7	38.6	33.2	55.5
Romania . . . . .	25.2	42.7	25.7	48 <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> in 1948    <sup>2</sup> in 1973

Table 3.

The structure of the network of towns

Country	Number of towns 1960s and 1970s	Out of this with population of											
		above 100,000		50,000 to 100,000		20,000 to 50,000		10,000 to 20,000		5,000 to 10,000		under 5,000	
		60s	70s	60s	70s	60s	70s	60s	70s	60s	70s	60s	70s
Bulgaria	175 <sup>1</sup>	5	7	10	14	24	24	28	43	71	74	37	52
Yugoslavia	339 <sup>3</sup>	7	9	7	12	45	59	50	68	95	127	135	222
Romania	184 <sup>5</sup>	13	15	9	13	38	56	65	72	45	65	14	15

<sup>1</sup> 1965 <sup>2</sup> 1975 <sup>3</sup> 1961 <sup>4</sup> 1971 <sup>5</sup> 1966 <sup>6</sup> 1974

Table 4.

The structure of the network of towns

Country Years	Urban population altogether 1000	from the total population %	From this												
			In towns with a population				between 20—50 th.		between 10—20 th.		between 5—10 th.		under 5,000		
			over 100,000		50—100 thousand										
			total 1000	popula- tion %	total 1000	popula- tion %	total 1000	popula- tion %	total 1000	popula- tion %	total 1000	popula- tion %	total 1000	popula- tion %	
Bulgaria															
1965	3,823	43.5	1,439	37.6	655	17.1	698	18.2	381	10.0	522	13.6	127	3.3	
1975	5,061	58.0	2,052	40.5	971	19.3	768	15.2	513	11.4	513	10.1	178	3.0	
Yugoslavia															
1961	5,266	28.3	1,662	31.5	515	9.8	1,301	24.7	706	13.4	630	11.9	451	8.5	
1971	7,919	38.6	2,597	32.8	851	10.7	1,887	23.8	923	11.7	927	11.7	734	9.1	
Romania															
1966	6,364	38.2	3,149	49.4	601	9.4	1,357	21.3	876	13.8	328	5.2	51	0.8	
1974	8,143	42.7	3,981	48.9	1,000	11.2	1,700	20.9	999	12.3	499	6.1	54	0.6	



From the second table it can be seen that the labour force employed in the non-agricultural sectors significantly surpassed the ratio of the urban population. This confirms the way in which urbanisation gained ground in the rural regions. However, in the period of development under examination, the extensive type of urbanisation also continues. The network of towns is gradually becoming denser, and its development continues to be very dynamic. The formation of new towns also continues to be a major factor in the growth and increasing density of the network of towns. In the present phase of urbanisation, the qualification of rural settlements into towns is indicated not only through their industrialisation, but also by the acceleration in the development of the services in them. As a result, the given settlements gain a central role in the life of the surrounding areas. For example, in Yugoslavia — due to certain administrative changes — the number of towns rose by 158 within ten years, in Romania by 58, and in Bulgaria by 39. In the expansion of the new town system, the tendency of a more even spread of urban settlements is also expressed.

In Bulgaria, most of the new towns were created along the important railway line between Sofia and Varna, in the valley of the river Marica and in the region of the Rila and Rodope mountains.

In Romania, the new towns are rather dispersed, still about 50 per cent of them are to be found in the central and western regions of the country. The new towns primarily increased the number of small towns, and the urbanisational effect on the rural settlements was very low.

The network of towns in the period under examination not only developed from a quantitative, but also from a qualitative point of view; the concentration of the population in large cities continued and the medium size towns also underwent intensive development (see Tables 3. and 4.).

**The role of large cities in the countries under examination**

*Table 5.*

Country	Number	Population 1.000 capita	Ratio out of urban population	Ratio out of the population of the country
		of cities with over 100.000 inhabitants		
Bulgaria . . . . .	7	2,052,191	40.5	23.5
Yugoslavia . . . .	9	2,597,298	32.8	12.6
Romania . . . . .	15	9,981,180	48.9	23.5

*Table 5. cont.*

Country	Territory (km <sup>2</sup> )	Total population of the country	Urban population of the country
	per large cities		
Bulgaria . . . . .	18,485	1,419,147	843,573
Yugoslavia . . . . .	28,422	2,278,279	879,947
Romania . . . . .	16,964	1,462,118	641,351

This growth can primarily be explained by the advantages deriving from the economic and social position of the bigger towns. The above mentioned advantages have an especially strong influence in the present phase of urbanisation, characterised by the regional concentration of economic activities. As a result, the big cities appear as the "carriers" of present day urbanisation.

From the point of view of the network of cities, Romania takes the lead in front of both Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The number of cities rose from 4 to 15 between 1948 and the middle of 1970s. This circumstance undoubtedly confirms the large scale concentration of production and inhabitants, since nearly half of the urban population is concentrated in these large cities. Simultaneously with the increase of the inhabitants in the large cities, the importance of Bucharest decreased: in 1930 67.8% of the urban population, while in 1973 only 39.6% of the urban population lived in the capital. In addition, naturally, the number of inhabitants in the capital also increased, and from among the capitals of the countries in the study, Bucharest is the only one having more than one and a half million residents.

The development of cities in Yugoslavia lagged behind that in Romania and Bulgaria. This can be explained by the fact that many rural settlements were transformed into towns, which accompanied the regional de-concentration of the economic activities, and halted the migration of the local labour force to the bigger cities. The proportion of inhabitants in large cities rose only by 1.3% between 1961 and 1971. (This figure was 31.5% in 1965 and 32.8% in 1971.)

The trend of concentration of industry and inhabitants — characterising the present phase of urbanisation — is effected in the South-East European socialist countries in the form of agglomerations on different levels of development. This kind of change in the urban system was the most spectacular in Romania, where at present there are 17 urban agglomerations, the most significant being Bucharest (1.7 million) and Ploesti (900,000). Another six agglomerations are listed as having between 300,000 and 400,000 inhabitants: Brasov, Sibiu, Hunedoara, Petroseni, Galati-Braila, Tirgu Mures and Medias. Their common characteristic is that in each city the centre is highly developed, and the satellite towns are relatively underdeveloped.

In Bulgaria, the formation of agglomerations arose from the dominance of centripetal tendencies in the organisation of urban settlements and the increased gravitation of big towns. In the period between 1948 and 1970, the number of rural inhabitants migrating to towns exceeded one and a half million, and half of them went to large cities. Therefore, an agglomeration of 1.5 million was formed around Sofia, to which in addition to Pernik 7 other smaller towns also joined. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the case of the agglomerations of Varna, Plovdiv, Veliko Tarnovo and Gorno-Orjahovica.

In Yugoslavia, the formation of agglomerations was promoted to a lesser extent, due to the much weaker concentration of the population and



the dispersed character of the pattern of settlements. Therefore, in this respect, Yugoslavia lagged behind Bulgaria and Romania. However, it must be mentioned that the formation of agglomerations has already started in Yugoslavia, around Belgrade, Zagreb and other large cities. Six smaller satellites have been formed around Zagreb, functioning as dormitory towns for the manpower employed in Zagreb.

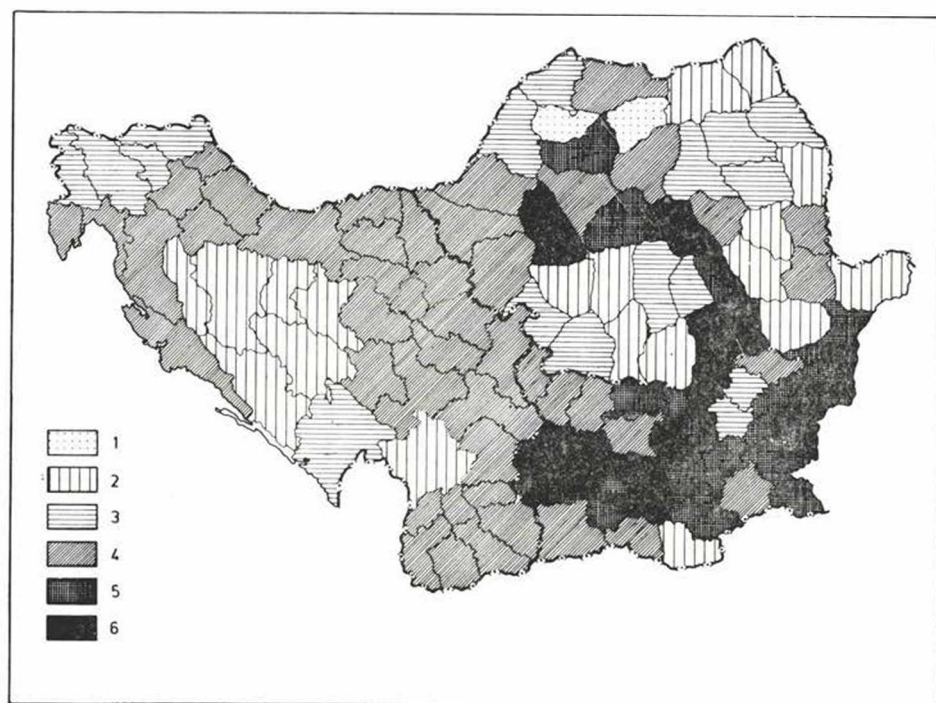
The regional analysis of the urbanisational process occurring in the countries under examination was carried out by determining the urbanisational level of the administrative units. Keeping in mind the complicated and many-sided character of the process of urbanisation, a complex system of indices was used.

The traditional index of the urbanisational level is the proportion of urban population within the total number of population. Concerning the ratio of urban population, in all three countries this can be evaluated as medium size, despite of the fact that in Bulgaria the ratio of urban population (in 1975 58%), was higher than in Romania (in 1974 42.7%), and in Yugoslavia (in 1971 38.6%). Although in all three countries tremendous efforts have been and are being made to balance the existing differences in the economic development of the administrative units, there are still essential differences among them. For example, in Romania the ratio of urban population per county ranges between 18.9% (in Bistrica-Nasaud county) and 70.3% (Hunedoara county); in Bulgaria between 25% (Kardjali okrag) and 71% (Gabrovo); in the Republics of Yugoslavia between 26.9% (Kosovo) and 48.8% (in Vojvodina). These figures, among others, confirm the fact that in Romania the urban population is strongly polarised. On one of the poles the industrially developed Hunedoara, Brasov, Sibiu, Prahova, Constanta and Cluj counties can be found, where the urban population consists of about half of the total population, while on the other pole there are the underdeveloped Bistrica-Nasaud-Salai, Botosani, Olt, Buzau, Vaslui and Vrancea counties, where the ratio of the urban population has not yet reached 25%.

The counties of Bulgaria (okrag) do not show a major divergence from each other in respect of the proportion of urban population. From among the 28 administrative units of the country, the ratio of the urban population surpasses 50% in 16, and is under 27% solely in Kardjali county. In essence, the larger portion of the urban population can be observed in the counties with a higher level of industrial development, but there are examples where industry is only developed to a medium level (Kjustendil, Sumen), and the ratio of the urban population is still over 50%.

From among the three countries under examination, the proportion of urban population is the smallest in Yugoslavia: it is everywhere under 50%. This low proportion can be explained by the low level of development of big and medium size towns, and with the dominance of small towns having under 10,000 inhabitants. In the first place, this is the explanation for the phenomenon that the highest proportion of urban population can be found in the Vojvodina, where the network of big and medium size towns is highly developed, and not in Slovenia, where the industrial development





*Fig. 1.* Share of the urban population; the percentage data stem from different years during the seventies

1 = under 20%, 2 = 20.1–30%, 3 = 30.1–40%, 4 = 40.1–50%, 5 = 50.1–60%, 6 = over 60%

is on a much higher level, and still 40% of the urban population live in small towns.

The simple examination of the proportion of urban population already makes the differences of urban development of administrative units obvious. However, this single index is insufficient itself — even in the case of countries that are close to each other from the point of view of social-economic development — for the determination of urbanisation levels.

In any administrative unit of a country, the high proportion of urban population can be ensured by the existence of a certain number of large cities, or in the case of a developed town system, the low number of the rural population. Consequently, in determining the level of urbanisation, in addition to taking into consideration the index concerning the ratio of urban population, the character of the town system and the distribution of the urban population among the settlements of different size must also be taken into consideration. It becomes clear from what has been mentioned above that in addition it is extremely important to take into consideration the absence or presence of cities, the “carriers” of modern urbanisation.

In a number of cases, the presence of a large city in a region — where otherwise the ratio of urban population is low — creates the conditions that favourably influence the urbanisation level of the area. This phenomenon is never revealed in any official statistical data. In examining this effect of large towns, the formula elaborated by Eduardo Arriaga<sup>1</sup> gives a relatively good approach:

$$U_j = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n C_i^2}{P_j}$$

where  $U_j$  is the urbanisation level of  $j$  region  
 $C_i$  is the population of  $i$  town  
 $P_j$  is the population of  $j$  region.

It is well known that the main carriers of the process of urbanisation are the big towns. The squaring in the formula emphasizes the significance of the bigger towns.

The examination of the urbanisation level of administrative units with the formula of E. Arriaga places emphasis on those administrative-units, where the urban population is concentrated in large cities. It is not by mere chance that according to the calculations carried out on the basis of the Arriaga-formula in Romania, beside Brasov county (1) Iasi, Galati, Timisoara and Braila counties have highest urbanisation level where the proportion of the urban population is under 50%.

The calculations carried out on the urbanisation level of the three South-East European socialist countries on the basis of the Arriaga-formula led to the following conclusion: the biggest differences in urbanisation level could be detected in Yugoslavia, where the difference in the urbanisation level of the Croatian Republic is 62 times higher than in Crna Gora. In Romania the difference rose to 39 and in Bulgaria to 25.

On the basis of the facts above mentioned it can be concluded that although the Arriaga-formula represents a significant step forward in determining the urbanisation level, still — as it takes only the big towns into consideration, or rather disregards the town system as a whole, it cannot be regarded as sufficient in itself. Since it is obvious that the presence of a large town cannot solely represent the urbanisation level of a region, therefore, the general development level of the network of towns cannot be disregarded.

In examining the differences in the urbanisation level, the formulae for the urban system proposed by I.V. Zorin and I.V. Kancebovskaia<sup>3</sup> were used in the following:

$$U'_j = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n C_i^2 - C_1}{P_i - C_1}$$

where  $C_i$  is the inhabitants of i. town  
 $C_1$  is the inhabitants of the region's biggest town  
 $P_i$  is the total population of the region.

On the basis of the results gained through the application of the formulae, the biggest differences from the point of view of the development of the network of towns could be detected among the counties of Romania. For example, the index of difference in the level of urbanisation in the town system in Hunedoara county was 88 times bigger than in Braila county. This can be explained by the fact that in Braila county there are only two towns. On the contrary, in Yugoslavia the index of the difference in the level of urbanisation is only 20 times bigger in the county of Vojvodina compared to that of Crna Gora, and in Bulgaria the maximum difference between the various regions is only 21 times bigger in Stara Zagora than in Kardjali.

There is no doubt that both formulae introduced and applied in the present study help to reveal certain characteristics of urbanisation levels, however, they proved to be insufficient in revealing the regional peculiarities of the urbanisational level, since these disregard the degree of supply of towns in the given region.

Starting from this consequence, the size of the region under examination must necessarily be taken into consideration, or rather the territorial coefficient of these. The supply of towns of the administrative units can be determined if the urbanisational index elaborated by E. Arriaga is multiplied by the regional coefficient of the "j" administrative unit.

$T_j = U_j K_j$ , where  $K_j$  is the regional coefficient of "j" administrative unit.

The calculations of this were carried out in the following way:

$$K_j = \frac{1 - R_{sj}}{R_{sj}}, \text{ where } R_{sj} = \frac{S_j}{S}$$

In this formula  $S$  is the country's territory  
 $S_j$  is the territory of the administrative unit  
 $R_{sj}$  is the proportion of j administrative unit out of the country's territory.

It is obvious that in the case of similar facilities, the smaller the territory of the administrative unit, the higher is its urbanisation level. Therefore, in examining the urbanisational levels the  $K_j$  coefficient was used, which is inversely proportional to  $R_{sj}$ . The indices calculated on the basis of this formula most adequately emphasize the urbanisation level of those smaller administrative units where large town or towns can be found. In the calculations carried out on the basis of the above introduced formula, the results confirm that with regard to the supply of administrative units in large towns, the differences are the biggest in Yugoslavia, where the difference in this context in the case of Vojvodina is 35 times bigger than



in Bosnia – Hercegovina. In the indices characterising the counties of Romania, the difference is 26 times bigger and in the counties (okrags) of Bulgaria this amounts to 24.

Further on, the  $T'_j$  index was also calculated, indicating the supply in the network of towns in a given administrative unit:

$$T'_j = U'_j K_j$$

The indices calculated on the basis of the above formula show a 65 times difference in Romania, 32 times difference in Bulgaria and in Yugoslavia a mere 21 times difference. This refers to the fact that the supply in the town system is most uneven in the administrative units of Romania.

Each of the above indices characterise a different aspect of urbanisation. However, the multifacious process of urbanisation demands – in order to be able to make accurate judgement of the urbanisation level of the administrative units – the combination of these indices.

For this reason, a score system was elaborated to evaluate the urbanisation level of the administrative units, in which a definite number of points were awarded to each administrative unit for its ratio of urban population, and for their indices calculated on the basis of the Arriaga formula and the three formulae by Zorin – Kancebovskaia.

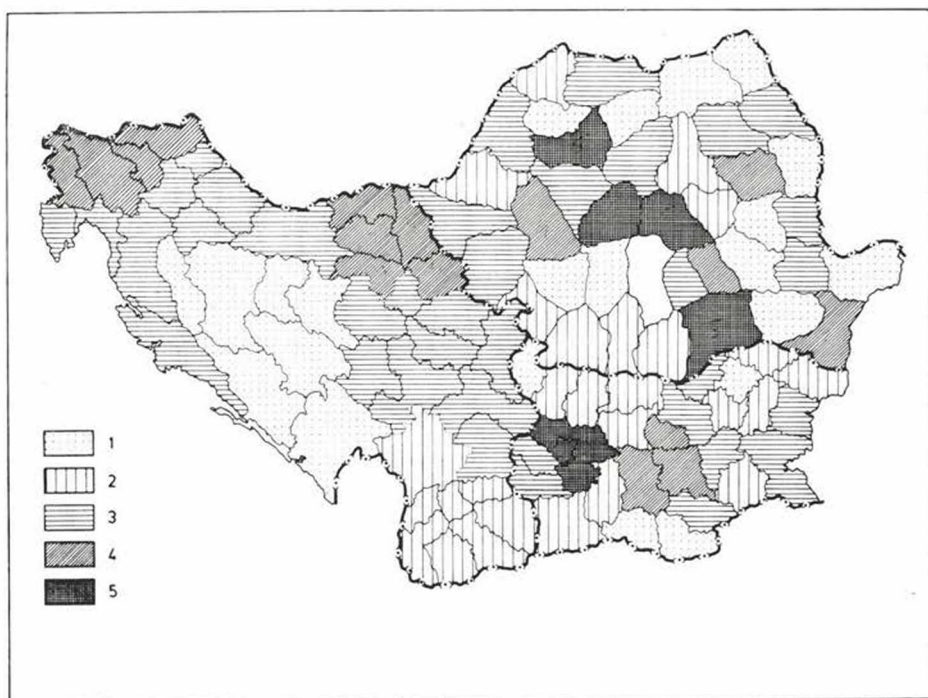


Fig. 2. Urbanisation level of the administrative units based on the comprehensive index (during the sixties)

1 = Lowest level of urbanisation, 2 = Low, 3 = Medium, 4 = Strong, 5 = Highest.

On the basis of the summary of the above introduced indices, the administrative units of the three socialist countries were divided into five groups, according to their urbanisation level, namely:

1. the highest urbanisation level
2. strongly urbanised level
3. medium urbanised level
4. low urbanisation level
5. very low urbanisation level.

In order to gain a picture of the development trends of the urbanisation level, the indices of the urbanisation levels of the 1960s were compared to the corresponding indices of the 1970s.

The results reflect the fact that although the increase in the levels of urbanisation is obvious in all three countries, it is most dynamic in Bulgaria. In Bulgaria, in the period between 1965 and 1975, the number of administrative units belonging to the low and very low urbanisation level decreased from 16 to 6, and parallel with this, the number of "okrags" in the highest and strongly urbanised level categories rose from 4 to 11.

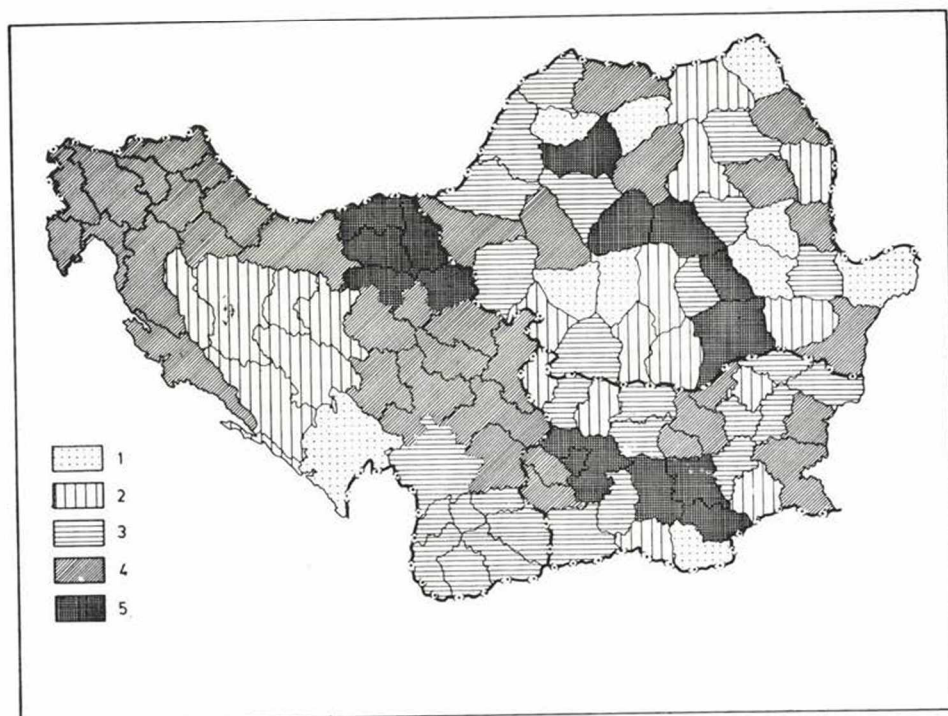


Fig. 3. Urbanization level of the administrative units based on the comprehensive index (during the seventies)

1 = Lowest level of urbanization, 2 = Low, 3 = Medium, 4 = Strong, 5 = Highest.

In Romania, in the period between 1966 and 1974, the number of administrative units in the low and very low categories dropped to 16 from 19, while the units with the highest and strongly developed urbanisation level rose from 8 to 13.

In Yugoslavia, taking into consideration the data of 1961, only Vojvodina and Slovenia could be described as having a highly developed urbanisation level. In the following ten years, the Republics of Croatia and Serbia also developed to that stage of urbanisational development.\*

In each of the countries under examination, the highest level of urbanisation development is represented by the administrative units with a high level of industrial development. In Bulgaria and Romania, these regions are located in the central areas, while in Yugoslavia it is the North-North-east part of the country.

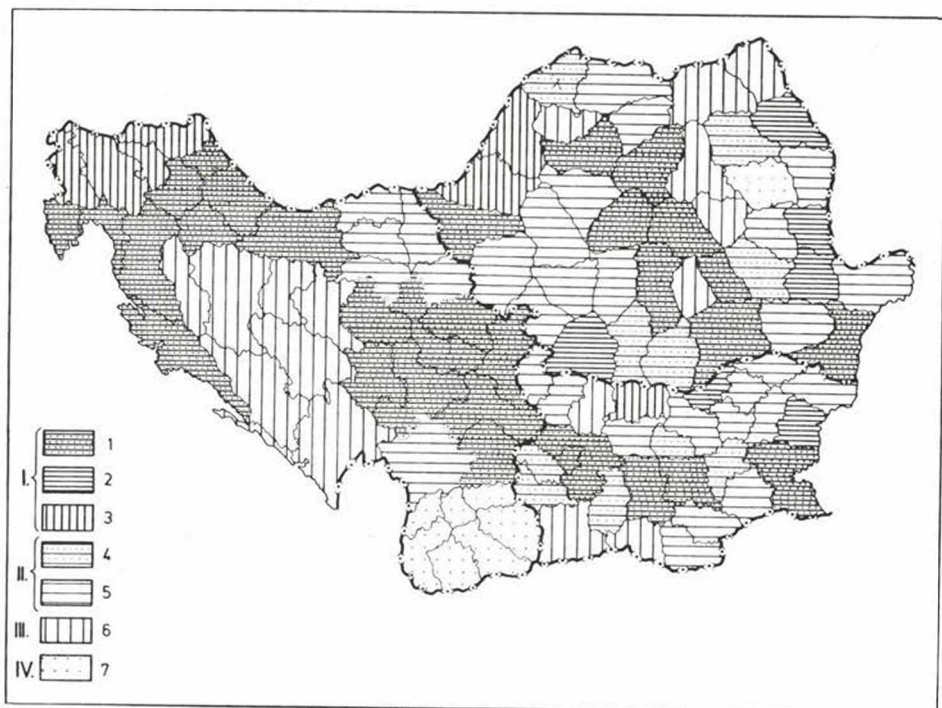


Fig. 4. Types of the urban network according to the size (during the sixties)

- I. Urban network predominated by large cities (over 100 000 inhabitants)
  1. large cities, combined with small and middle-size towns,
  2. large cities, escorted by few and undeveloped towns,
  3. large cities, combined with small towns,
- II. Urban network predominated by middle-size towns (20–100 000 inhabitants)
  4. middle-size towns escorted by few and undeveloped towns,
  5. middle-size towns, combined with small towns.

\* Lacking other, more appropriate data, in the case of Yugoslavia the examination was carried out by regarding the Republics as administrative units, therefore, the network of these towns cannot be compared to those of the other two countries, where the counties were taken as units.



In all three countries, the increasing speed of the urbanisation process can be observed that started in the 1970s, on the coastal areas of the Black Sea and the Adriatic.

A strong influence on the urbanisation level of development of the big and medium size towns can also be detected beside that effect on the development of the network of towns in the administrative units. (See map enclosed).

The rise in the urbanisation level with units in the low category can be partly explained by the development in the town system. This process, carried out in reality, proves that both the extensive and intensive forms of the development of the urbanisation level are important is the South-East European socialist countries under the present examination.

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#### РЕЗЮМЕ

#### НЕКОТОРЫЕ ЧЕРТЫ УРБАНИЗАЦИИ В СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИХ СТРАНАХ ЮГО-ВОСТОЧНОЙ ЕВРОПЫ

В развитии урбанизации трёх социалистических стран юго-восточной Европы отмечаются две стадии. Первая связана с периодом социалистической индустриализации, которая вызвала массовый перелив сельского населения в города и увеличение числа городских поселений в результате образования новых городов. В этой стадии доминируют экстенсивные формы развития урбанизации. С начала 70-х годов, наряду с сохранением экстенсивных форм, появляются и интенсивные (распространение городского образа жизни на сельские поселения, формирование городских агломераций и групповых форм расселения, и т.д.). Эти формы развития урбанизации существуют не только во времени, но и в пространстве, на что косвенно указывает различие в уровнях урбанизации административно-территориальных единиц исследуемых стран.

Уровень урбанизации этих единиц измерялся для середины 60-х и 70-х годов с помощью комплексного индекса, в состав которого входит: доля городского населения, коэффициент урбанизации Э. Арриага и формулы предложенные для измерения уровня урбанизации И. В. Зориным и И. В. Канцевской.

Сводка вышеперечисленных показателей, характеризующих уровень урбанизации административно-территориальных единиц, позволила объединить последние в 5 групп.

При общей тенденции повышения уровня урбанизации во всех трех странах она проявляется наиболее динамично в Болгарии. Самым высоким уровнем урбанизации характеризуются те административные единицы, в которых развита сеть крупных и средних городов. Интенсивно развивается урбанизация и в приморских районах всех трех социалистических стран.

Повышение уровня урбанизации слабоурбанизированных территорий происходит не только за счет укрепления и развития уже существующих городов, но и благодаря преобразованию сельских населенных пунктов в городские.